/25 cont./

531 Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain with certainty
534 the pertinent natural object. The following patterns, whose meaning was determined, suffice, however, for an explanation.

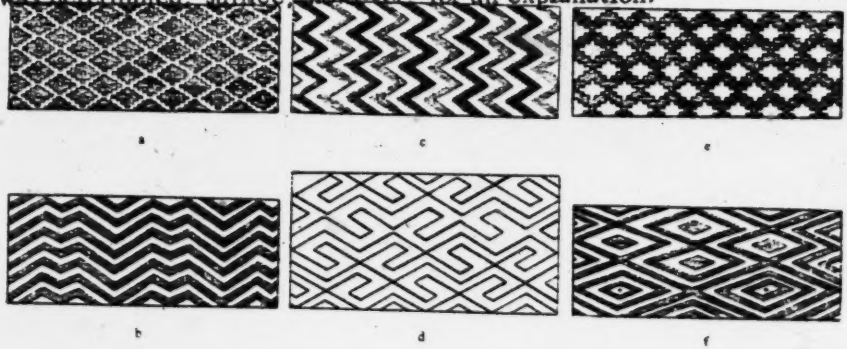

Fig. 11. Comb patterns

The oar patterns (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) all represent fish; likewise the feather mosaic designs of some of the dance helmets (cf. p. 72).

[823] The frequently appearing cross (cf. Fig. 16c /see p.63 / and Pl. VIII, 6), which has given rise to airy hypotheses so often in America, is nothing here but a species of lizard (uatä-9ä).

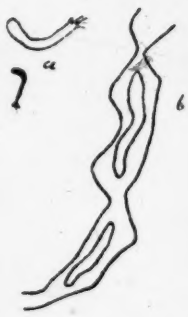

Fig. 12.

Anyone who has seen the large wasp nests of the camp-forests with the blunt knobs will immediately recognize this mark in the comb ornamentation (Fig. 11a).

As especially characteristic there are still to be mentioned the bat (turehereko, Fig. 11b), recognizable by the outstretched wings, as well as the snake patterns, which occur the most frequently. Thus Fig. 11c is the rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus); Fig. 11e the caninanha (Spilotes).

Other snakes are represented by Figures 11d and f.

532 Real drawings of human beings and animals, like the ones known to us in such excellent execution by the Bushmen and Eskimo, do not seem to occur among the Karaya. Nowhere did we see strikingly reproduced representations painted in the sand or carved in trees with a few strokes, like the ones which so often aroused our attention among the Bakairi and Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ of the upper Xingu.

/25 cont./

532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarǎ), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokŏ, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfec ting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽsiwĩũlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 151 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By WILLIAM LIPKIND

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may